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17 June 1960

MAIN FILE

WAYS OF SOLVING SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE
CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (II)

- Hungary -

by Gyorgy Fukasz

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205 EAST 42nd STREET, SUITE 100
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

FOREWORD

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ATLANTA

JPRS: 3404

CSO: 3539-D

WAYS OF SOLVING SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (II)*

Following is a translation of an article by Gyorgy Fukasz in Magyar Filozofiai Szemle (Hungarian Philosophical Review), Vol III, No 3/4, November 1959, Budapest, pages 299-317.

(* Part I appeared in Magyar Filozofiai Szemle, Vol III, No 1/2.)

The Contradiction Between Intellectual and Physical Work

The elimination of the contradiction or difference between intellectual and physical work is a burning question in the course of solution of social contradictions. The need for its solution is becoming increasingly urgent in the countries of the socialist camp. The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also thoroughly discussed this problem in connection with the preparation and creation of the conditions for transition into Communism. In addition to theoretical clarification the CP USSR is taking many practical steps for the elimination and solution of this contradiction. The most substantial of these is the reorganization of the school system, which is aimed at bringing about a junction between intellectual and physical work.

The Communist Party of China has taken many measures in the field of elimination of intellectual and physical work and joining together intellectual and physical work. Very important among these measures is the significant step for uniting the control of intellectual and physical work in the field of organization of the people's communes, and the 19 September 1958 directive of the Central Leadership of the Communist Party of China and of the State Council pertaining to reorganization of the educational system. This resolution closely joins together the educational process, from the lower level to colleges and universities, inclusive, with production and physical work; the reorganization of education realizes a close junction between theory and practice.

The contradiction between intellectual and physical work expresses a class antagonism. Similarly to the contradiction between the city and rural areas, this contradiction began with the formation

of private ownership, with the breaking down of society into classes. This contradiction took shape as a result of the peculiar form of division of labor in society. In A Nemet Ideologia (The German Ideology) Marx and Engels write that "division of labor becomes a real distribution only when the actual sharing of material and intellectual work takes place," (Marx-Engels: A nemet ideologia (The German Ideology), page 14) and to this Marx adds that "the first form of ideologists, the priesthood, coincides with this." (Ibid.) He places this in opposition to the so-called "natural" division of labor, the conditions of primitive society.

In "The German Ideology" Marx and Engels demonstrate the connection between the contradiction between urban and rural life and the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, and between these contradictions and the social division of labor, writing that: "the greatest division between material and intellectual work is the separation between urban and rural life." (Op. cit. page 37.)

In the era preceding the partitioning of society into classes, or the era of natural division of labor, work was not divided into two categories, and intellectual and physical work constituted a complete unity. As Marx writes: "the utility of the labor force is work itself." (Marx: A toke (Capital), Vol I, page 191.) Work equally embraces physical and intellectual activity. "Above all work is a process between man and nature, a process in which man mediates, regulates and controls his metabolism between himself and nature through his own activity... He places in action the natural forces of his physical essence, his arms, legs, head and hands." (Ibid. Underlining are those of the present author. Gy. F.) Thus work has a unified character from the point of view of its natural bases. Marx cites this in one of his earlier works "A filozofia nyomora" (The Misery of Philosophy), in which we may read the following postulation: "Considering their natural capabilities there is much less difference between a porter and a philosopher than between a sheep dog and a greyhound." (Marx: A filozofia nyomora (The Misery of Philosophy), pages 130-131.) Considering its natural bases, work did not split into two opposite tendencies, but the division of labor in society led to the separation of intellectual and physical work, and thus to the origin of classes. "It was division of labor which dug a trench between the two" (Ibid.) writes Marx, further developing the earlier idea, and continues with: "the division of labor created the castes." (Op. cit. page 131.) Marx cites Adam Ferguson (Essay sur l'histoire de la societe civile (Treatise on the History of Civilized Society), Paris, 1783, Vol II, pages 108-110.) in his work "The Misery of Philosophy": "It may be said that the perfection of factory work consists of the fact that the head may be made superfluous, and a plant working without the mediation of the head may be considered to be a machine, certain parts of which are men... A general may be very experienced in military science, and the merit of the soldier is limited to the execution of a few arm and leg

movements... In an era in which everything is separated, the art of thinking may be a separate occupation." (Marx: A filozofia nyomora [The Misery of Philosophy], pages 130-131.)

The basis of the separation of intellectual and physical work, the formation of this contradiction, and "the transformation of thinking into a separate function" consists of the fact that in this era the productivity of labor is at a very low level. Socially necessary work is of such great dimensions and places such great demands upon the persons performing physical work that they have absolutely no time, in addition to production of the goods necessary for maintaining existence, for occupying themselves with intellectual work. Engels writes: "As long as man's labor was so little productive that it produced very little surplus in addition to the basic necessities, increasing the forces of production, expansion of transportation, development of the state and the law and the founding of art and science were possible only on the basis of increased division of labor." (Engels: Anti-Duhring, page 172.) Searching for the sharing of labor between intellectual and physical work, Engels continues with the postulation that: "the basis for this had to be a great division of labor between the masses performing simple manual labor and labor supervisory personnel, commercial, state administration personnel, and later, persons pursuing art and science, with a few exceptions." (Ibid.) Thus the roots of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work takes its origin primarily from the undeveloped status of the forces of production.

The separation between intellectual and physical work runs through the history of class societies, and appears especially markedly in capitalism in the opposition between the directors and the directed and between the persons performing intellectual and physical work, which is of an antagonistic nature within the framework of the division of labor and structure of society. This contradiction, and the antagonism latent within the contradiction, explains the leading role and directing role of the industrial capitalist. "Thinking became a separate art:" this is realized in the capitalist production method, in the intellectual activity of the bourgeois director, and in the exploitation of the physical labor of the suppressed masses and the proletariat, also. The source of this contradiction drives from exploitation and from the opposition of the director to the directed, and not vice versa. In the first volume of Capital, Marx cites the relationship between the industrial capitalist commander and the working masses in this light. "A certain amount of direction is necessary in all communal work of a direct social nature or of greater magnitude... The direction, supervision and mediation becomes the role of capital... The role of direction takes on a peculiar character as the particular function of capital." (Marx: A toke Capital, Vol I, page 357.) Following this idea Marx writes of the industrial officers, etc., who perform these functions of leadership, supervision and organization, and then

continues with: "the capitalist is not a capitalist because he directs industry, but is an industrial commander because he is a capitalist. In industry command will be a concomitant of capital." (Op. cit., page 359.) The distinction of the function of direction, and the antagonistic opposition between the directors performing intellectual work and the directed performing physical work appears in its clearest, most undisguished form under the conditions of capitalism.

The formation of the opposition between intellectual and physical work leads to very serious social effects. The division of labor in society and the separation of intellectual work from physical work leads to intellectual degeneration of the working masses, the strata performing physical work. In volume I of Capital, Marx writes that the division of labor results in degeneration of the people, and an attempt was made to oppose this process while still under the relationships of capitalist society. "A. Smith recommends education of the people by the state as an antidote, though in very careful doses, for prevention of complete degeneration resulting from division of labor." (Op. cit. page 392.) In the following Marx speaks of an "intellectual barrenness," and in searching for its cause he establishes that this "is a result of the fact that immature men have been transformed into mere machines serving surplus value production, and which is quite different from... natural ignorance." (Op. cit. page 431.) This type of division of the work of society hopelessly condemns to unilaterality the men occupied in physical work and makes their life a wasteland.

The division of labor and contradiction of intellectual and physical work formed the basis for the formation of idealism. The fact that the knowledge of man plays an enormous role in social movement, that all material relationships are transposed in the mind of man, leads man to overevaluation of the mind, of the product of the mind, the intellect. The differentiation of work led to the point where "Art and science took its place finally alongside commerce and industry... law and politics developed, and with them the fantastic reflection in man's mind of human existence: religion. All these formations, which at first appeared to be products of the mind and seemed to reign over human societies, forced into the background the more modest products of the working hand... All the merits of rapidly advancing civilization were attributed to the mind, to the development and activity of the brain men have become accustomed to explaining their deeds from their thoughts and not from the point of view of their necessities... and this is how, in time, the idealistic world outlook came into being, which has reigned in peoples' minds mainly since the disappearance of the ancient world." (Engels: A munka szerepe a majom emberre valasaban. A termeszet dialektikaja. /The Role of Work in the Evolution of Ape into Man. The Dialectic of Nature./ page 187.)

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Marxism-Leninism establishes the ways for the elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, exposing the roots, source and origin of this contradiction, as well as the means necessary for resolution of the contradiction.

The prerequisite for elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, as the basic source of the elimination of all social antagonism, is the socialist revolution, the elimination of exploitation. From this new, formative social situation, from the conditions of socialist society in the process of building, arises the possibility which leads to elimination of the cultural monopoly of the former ruling classes.

During the era of capitalism there arose a demand and necessity of the laborers following the urgent necessity of the development of productive forces: the necessity that the laborers know machinery. We have cited Adam Smith's opinion in this respect in the foregoing. Analyzing the relationships of his contemporary British society, Marx establishes that certain capitalist circles recognized the necessity for instruction of the laborers in order that they be able to deal appropriately with the machines, or that they should be adequate to the production of surplus value for the capitalists. Evaluating British education law, Marx notes that: "Taken as a whole, regardless of how meager the educational provisions of the factory law appear, nevertheless they declared elementary education to be an unavoidable requisite of labor." (Marx: Capital, Vol I, page 522.) Evaluating the significance of the education laws, in the following Marx establishes that: "Their success was proved primarily by the fact that education and gymnastics could be interrelated with physical labor, and that physical labor could be connected with education and gymnastics." (Op. cit. pages 522-523.) Marx indicated that even at the given degree of development of the forces of production in capitalism, it is "a question of life or death" that "...the unit-individual, the carrier of a partial-function of society... be supplemented with the totally developed individual.... One element of this transformation process, developed naturally on the basis of big industry, is the creation of the polytechnical and agricultural technical schools...." (Op. cit. page 528.)

The formative socialist-communist society differs quantitatively from the above. With the commencement of communist society labor is liberated and is no longer a class activity. As it was established by Marx: work is liberated only with the termination of private ownership and with the elimination of exploitation, and "as labor is liberated every man will become a worker and productive labor no longer will be a class characteristic." (Marx: Polgarhabcrn Franciaországban. [Civil War in France] Marx-Engels: Val. Muv. Valogatott Művek -- Selected Works, Vol I, page 505.) The great development of forces of production, the elevation of the forces of production, and a large-scale increase in the productivity of labor lead to the formation of the communist society. As a result of

social development and the development of the forces of production the exigency of the cutting off of the great masses occupied with physical labor from those performing intellectual work is terminated. The development of the forces of production and the large-scale improvement of productivity enable the laboring masses to have adequate free time for the acquisition of culture. Engels writes: "with this industrial revolution the productive power of man has risen to a level at which for the first time in the history of man through intelligent distribution of labor applying to everyone it has become possible to produce enough for the ample consumption and considerable reserves of every member of society, and also to provide adequate free time for every individual to ensure not only the survival of all the historical heritage of culture -- science, culture, forms of communication, etc., -- but instead of their remaining the monopoly of the ruling class ensures their becoming public property and capable of further development." (Engels: A lakaskerdeshez. [On the Housing Problem] Marx-Engels: Selected Works, Vol I, page 548.) As a result of this elimination of the monopoly over intellectual work the elimination of the remnants and last extensions of the social classes becomes possible, and it thereby becomes possible to refute the "theory" which had served to justify the necessity of the existence of classes, and according to which a narrow stratum must exist, exempted from the work of production within society, in order to provide for the function of intellectual work. It is exactly because of this, however, at this phase of social development it becomes evident that "the existence of a reigning class from day to day becomes an increasing hindrance for the development of the industrial forces of production, and also of science, art, and especially of cultural forms of communication." (Ibid.) Ensuring adequate free time, which leads to removal of the difference between intellectual and physical work, also refutes the necessity of the existence of classes.

Communist society results in a higher level of productivity and of division of labor, and this higher level enables elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work. The higher degree of division of labor is expressed in the fact that the individual is not subordinated to this division of labor in a slave-like manner. New possibilities for the individual evolve from the conditions of the disappearance of the contradiction. At the highest level of communist society, after the individuals no longer are subordinate to the division of labor in a slave-like manner and thus the opposition between intellectual and physical work also disappears, after work has become not only a means of existence but also the principal vital necessity, after the forces of production have grown along with multilateral development of the individuals and every source of the collective economy is seething..." (Marx: A gothai program kritikaija [Critique of the Gotha Program] Marx-Engels: Selected Works, Vol II, pages 17-18.) In the Anti-

Duhring Engels analyzes in detail this higher level of the division of labor, which leads to elimination of the division and contraction between intellectual and physical work. He indicates that it would be Utopia to dream of elimination of the distinction between intellectual and physical work without realization of this prerequisite. "As long as the people who are really working are occupied by their necessary work to such a degree that they have no time remaining for the performance of the mutual affairs of society, such as the direction of work, affairs of state, legal affairs, art, science, etc., there was constant need for a separate class which, liberated from the performance of real work, performed these duties... Only through a gigantic increase in the production forces, attained by heavy industry, will the division of labor among all members of society without exception become possible, thereby effecting a limitation of the working time of everyone to an extent that everyone will have adequate free time to participate in the general affairs of the state, both intellectual and practical." (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*, page 172.) In communism "...production will be furthered the most by a method of distribution which makes it possible for every member of society to develop, maintain and practice his capabilities in the most multifaceted manner... It would be a nice socialism, indeed, which would perpetuate the wheelbarrow-pushers." (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*, page 172.) Elimination of the division between intellectual and physical labor, of its antagonistic contradiction and of its difference leads to the possibility of enabling man to develop his capacities as variously as possible in accordance with his capabilities and attitudes. This possibility is available only in communist society, which creates the realm of human liberty and represents a leap from necessity to the realm of liberty. Elimination of the cultural monopoly makes culture the mutual treasure of everyone. "Thus the prerequisite for the elimination of classes is a high level of the development of production, at which expropriation of the means of production and of products, and thus of political dominance, culture and the monopoly over intellectual leadership by a single social class has become not only superfluous, but also has become a hindrance to economic, political and intellectual development." (Engels: *A szocializmus fejlődése az utopiaiól a tudományig* /The Development of Socialism from Utopia to a Science/, Marx-Engels: Selected Works, Vol II, page 147.) After this, Engels writes how the intellectual collapse of the bourgeoisie develops at a given level of development of capitalism. The intellectual collapse of the bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly clearly and unequivocably apparent during our time. The development of science and art in the socialist camp countries is advancing by very rapid steps, and not the least basis for this is the fact that the cultural monopoly, the monopoly of the former ruling classes, has ended and the creative initiative talent of the masses has emerged in intellectual, cultural,

scientific and artistic life. This development has led to the known political and scientific results, which results fill with amazement not only the people living in the countries of the socialist camp, but also those living in the capitalist countries, who can speak only with amazement, for example, of the gigantic results of Soviet rocket technology.

Through elimination of the cultural monopoly the proletariat struggles for the creation of his own intelligentsia. It is the duty of every ruling class to create its own intelligentsia. Through the socialist revolution the proletariat strives to elevate the labor and peasant masses to the level of intellectual work and to the level of the intelligentsia. One of the essential, basic factors of the socialist revolution is a cultural revolution of enormous proportions, taking place in the course of the building of socialism. The great masses of the new socialist intelligentsia come into being as a result of the cultural revolutions.

Expansion of education after elimination of the cultural monopoly, elevating the level of physical work to the level of intellectual work: this is the way of elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work which has been worked out thus far. During the 42 years of building socialism in the Soviet Union highly significant development has taken place, as a result of which the cultural level of the labor masses has risen greatly. A very significant factor is this development has been the numerous movements which have emerged among the laborers, which movements are built upon the experiences of the laboring masses and which include the significant development of the theoretical knowledge of the masses. A movement of this type is the Stakhanovite movement, which was evaluated by Stalin as being a very important station in the elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work. The stakhanovites resolve on an intellectual work level the problems incurred in the course of physical work. The Stakhanovite movement is an important means for elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work. It led to the mastery of new technology and to the surmounting of masses of existing technical norms, and resulted in a greater productivity of labor. Stalin evaluates the Stakhanovite movement as preparation of the requisites for the transition from socialism to communism. (Stalin: Beszéd a sztakhanovisták előzéssel /Speech Before the First All-Union Stakhanovite Conference/, Lenin-Stalin: A munkaról /On Work/.) Stalin justifiably opposed the concept that "elimination of the opposition between intellectual and physical work may be attained by equalizing intellectual and physical workers with respect to culture on the basis of lowering the cultural and technical level of engineers, technicians and intellectual workers to the level the workers with average skills." (Op. cit. page 370.) In contrast to this tendency Stalin evaluated the significance of the

Stakhanovite movement very highly in respect to the fact that it elevates the cultural and technical level of the labor class to the level of the engineers and technicians. "The bases of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work may be eliminated only through this type of elevation of the cultural and technical level of the labor class, and only this may ensure the high productivity of labor and the abundance of consumer goods which is necessary for beginning the transition from socialism to communism. (Op. Cit. pages 370-371.) This method opens the way to increasing the productivity of labor, which is necessary for elimination of the contradictions between intellectual and physical work. The innovation movement also is widespread in Hungary, and the Stakhanovite-innovator movements provide significant means for elevation of physical work to the level of intellectual work. These methods, plus the striving for participation by millions and tens of millions of simple working people of the Soviet Union and in the peoples democracy countries in formal and extracurricular education and cultural improvement, create the requisites for elimination of the contradiction, and for raising physical work to the level of intellectual work. A very wide network of night schools and of on-the-job training was created in these countries. In the countries of the socialist camp the ratio of labor- and peasant students in the secondary and higher educational systems was increased considerably. All these eliminate the class bases of the contradiction between the intellectual and physical work, and terminate the situation in which intellectual work and supervisory work exploits and suppresses physical work and the activity of supervised workers. In this manner the antagonistic character of intellectual and physical work is ended.

In addition to the above, the way toward elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work must be sought in other fields, also. This is the path taken by the measures for reorganization of the educational system in the Soviet Union, and this path now is beginning to be developed by measures taken in the Chinese Peoples Republic. These possibilities and means had been discovered long ago by the classic figures of Marxism-Leninism, and present-day theoretical-practical activity may borrow extensively from their theories. In addition to raising physical work to the level of intellectual work an attempt must be made to interconnect intellectual work with physical, productive work, to connect teaching with production, to a suitable degree and useful amount. In the first volume of Capital, Marx speaking of the educational provisions of the factory laws of Great Britain, establishes that physical work was interconnected with education and gymnastics, as has been mentioned in the foregoing. Marx sees the germ of educational system of the future, of the educational principles of socialist-communist society, in the

realization of these provisions. "From the factory system," as we may read in detail in Robert Owen's work, "the bud of the education of the future emerged, which after a certain age interconnects productive work with education and gymnastics for all children, not merely as a method for increasing the production of society, but as the sole method suitable for the production of well-rounded persons." (Op. cit. pages 523-524) Marx quotes the British sociologist Senior, who stated that "the system of one-half day work and one-half day of school makes each pursuit a rest and recreation from the point of view of the other, and as a result is much more suitable for children than the exclusive pursuit of one or the other." (Op. cit. page 523.) Marx developed a similar thought in his work entitled "Critique of the Gotha Program," calling attention to the advantages in the socialist educational system offered by bringing intellectual work into closest contact with physical work. He saw in the interconnection of intellectual and physical work an important means for the building of the new, socialist system. "The early interconnection of production work and instruction is one of the most powerful means of the transformation of modern society." (Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program. Marx-Engels: Selected Works, Vol II, page 29.)

Among the conditions of the Russia at the turn of the century Lenin saw a similar path for elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, and made similar recommendations in connection with the formation of the educational system. In his debate with the Narodnik group he stated: "The ideal of the future society cannot be conceived without interconnection of the education and production work of the young generation: neither education and cultural training without productive work, nor productive work without parallel education and cultural training may be raised to the level demanded by the present level of technology and the status of science. This though already has been expressed by the early, great Utopians." (Lenin Muvei - Lenin's Works, Vol 2, page 493.) General introduction of productive work and making productive work an integral part of education: this is Lenin's central thought, and this thought arose recently in connection with the school reform: "In order to integrate general production work with general education, obviously the participation of everyone in production work must be made mandatory." (Op. cit. page 494.) Thus in the final analysis Lenin considered participation in production work to be necessary and required for everyone, including persons engaged in intellectual work. This thought also was developed by Lenin later in his speech before the Komsomol congress in which he clarified the principles of education. He emphasized that it is impossible to learn communism from books alone. In addition to study from books he attributed great importance to experience of the practice and struggle of communism. "Knowledge acquired from communist brochures and works without work or struggle is not worth a straw to communism because this would be a continuation of the old separation of theory and practice which was the most

retrogressive trait of the old bourgeois society." (Lenin: Selected Works, Vol II, page 793.) Lenin saw the task as consisting of connecting study and education with practice. "How must the adolescent young generation learn communism?"

"This generation may learn communism only if it connects every step of its studies, training and cultural training with the unceasing struggle of the proletariats and workers against the old, exploiting society." (Op. cit. pages 802-803.)

From these considerations it may be seen that in the formation of the relationship between intellectual and physical work, and in the formation of the means for elimination of the opposition and difference between intellectual and physical work the classical Marxists placed very great importance upon the interconnection of intellectual and physical work, they attributed an important role to direct acquaintance with production work in the lives of men who do intellectual work, the intelligentsia, and they considered that intellectual activity must be directly connected with everyday practice.

This means for elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, however, is considerably less perfected than the tendency that the physical laborers must be elevated to the level of intellectual work. In addition to the necessity of the interconnection of intellectual and physical work and establishment of the second tendency of elimination of the contradiction, the need for practical solution of the problem has arisen recently. Many methods and experiments have been evolved in the Soviet Union and in the Chinese Peoples Republic along this line and utilizing the practical application of this principle. It is beyond doubt that this way and this principle must be analyzed in detail and thoroughly so that the new way for resolution of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work may be applied practically with success.

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The Communist Party of China has passed several measures for elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, and these measures prepare the elimination of the contradiction in two ways. Firstly they intend to elevate persons performing physical work to the level of intellectual work: the labor-peasant masses are to be elevated to the level of the intelligentsia. Secondly, the party is striving to train the intelligentsia as a working intelligentsia, and in the spirit of Lenin is striving to connect intellectual work with the physical, production work.

(a) In the interest of elevating the labor and peasant masses to the level of intellectual work, to the level of the intelligentsia, the universities have opened wide their doors to the labor and peasant masses. The party has planned that within the foreseeable future university training will be made complete, and it wants to attain the

goal at which every suitable man will be accepted to a university. Within the national plans, closer deadlines have been set in individual large cities. In Shanghai, for example, it has been planned to achieve complete university training within 10 or 15 years. They desire to have every man under 45 receive professional skilled training. This may be accomplished only by expanding the network of universities and colleges widely, by creating a mass of "red and professional" universities alongside the regular universities. It prepares the attainment of wide-range professional skills, and provides for labor and peasant masses to participate on a large scale in the work of the "red and professional" universities and various professional schools. More than 64 million laborers, peasants and officials are participating in extracurricular study in these forms.

The struggle against illiteracy is being conducted actively in the Chinese Peoples Republic. It is well known that being able to read and write is a fairly complicated matter in China, and that the Chinese written characters require very wide-scale knowledge for the attainment of the lower level of literacy. The conversion from characters to the Roman alphabet has begun, and in the course of this conversion a revolutionarily new situation will be formed in the field of dissemination of culture, because the many tens of thousands of characters will be replaced by 25 to 30 letters. The conversion to the new orthography, however, will require a long time, primarily because the general and complete introduction of the new letters also requires a language reform in China. It is fact that in certain regions of China the dialects, and eight basic dialects are known, are so different from each other that persons living in different parts of the country hardly can understand each other. The people who speak the language of Northern China, in the vicinity of Peiping, for example, cannot understand the southern Chinese. They do not understand the spoken language of the other region, but they do understand the characters of the written language. The characters are written in the same way throughout the most varied parts of the country, but the pronunciation of the characters is different. Until the language reform is completed this conversion from characters to modern letters will be retarded. These two processes emerge parallelly, with mutual effects. At present the written language is based one hundred percent upon the Chinese characters, and the initial steps in the introduction of the new orthography may be seen only in the large cities (large commercial signs, street name signs, newspaper article titles, etc.). Thus it is intended to overcome illiteracy on the basis of the system of characters. This means that he who wishes to consider himself able to read and write must know a minimum of 2,000 characters. It is well known that prior to 1949, 90% of the Chinese population was illiterate. The Communist Party of China set itself the goal of eliminating illiteracy within a few years. This means an almost unbelievably rapid pace. This rapid pace, however, is explained by the means and methods through which the Chinese people were taught the

written characters so very fast. Very great numbers of adults attend night school, taking various courses, where reading and writing also are taught. At many places the children learn to read and write before the adults, and the children teach reading and writing to their parents and other adults at home. A very great work is being done in the armed forces for the dissemination of the knowledge of reading and writing. It is not an infrequent sight to observe soldiers studying letters during their marching. The dissemination of literacy also is considered an important task in the peoples communes: in addition to production activity, the cultural training and development of the workers also play an important role. In 1958 approximately 90 million persons learned several hundred basic characters in China within a few months. Mastery of the fundamentals of reading and writing are the basis of wide-spread expansion of intellectual work, and of the development of the cultured, trained man in China.

The technical revolution, or mechanization, the striving to provide the Chinese public economy with modern technical means, plays a significant role in raising physical work to the level of intellectual work. At present this has not yet happened, and the technical basis which is at the disposal of the Chinese public economy is relatively narrow and primitive. The technical revolution in the Chinese rural areas still means a type of "wheelbarrow-ization," according to which the load passes from the shoulder to the wheelbarrow. It has been planned, however, that within a few years, on the basis of the rapidly developing industry the most modern technical tools will be used in all branches of the public economy, including agriculture. This requires an intellectual development of the working masses and their armament with professional skills. This road leads to the situation in which sooner or later, in industry, agriculture and productive work the direct physical labor of man will be replaced by rows of automatic machines, controlled by highly skilled men, or workers. This is the perspective of the future development in China, also, and the wide-spread expansion of the cultural training of the people is connected with this perspective.

(b) In addition to the elevation of physical work to the level of intellectual work, another tendency is forcefully in effect: the interconnected intellectual work with physical, production work. The Chinese Communist Party is striving to train the intelligentsia as a working intelligentsia. It is passing resolutions which bring the intelligentsia into close contact with physical work: the Communist Party and State Council of China has passed a resolution according to which every intelligentsia cadre must perform physical work, comprising at least one month per year. In many places they perform even more physical work. For example, there are associates in the academic research institutes, philosophers, who are concerned with dialectic materialism, and economists, who spend nearly half of each year in the villages and plants, performing direct physical production work, and in addition are studying the problems brought about by practical life

and by production work. Office and institution personnel regularly participate in physical work. The inclusion of the intelligentsia in direct physical work may bring significant results on the road of the elimination of the differences between intellectual and physical work. The Chinese comrades attempt to attain several goals simultaneously through these measures.

This measure also is intended, in the development of the intelligentsia, for ensuring the worker's viewpoint, and the proletariat attitude spontaneously developing on the basis of direct, physical production work, in the thinking of the intelligentsia. It should assist elimination of the remnants of the bourgeois way of thought.

Furthermore, inclusion of the intelligentsia in physical work brings the intelligentsia to the working class and to the peasantry, not merely in point of view, but also in their feelings. The persons engaged in intellectual work live, work, dwell and eat together with the laborers and peasants. This living together also has a very great effect from the point of view of emotional education. Only common life affords the most complete possibility for emotional merging with the labor class and with the peasantry.

Thirdly, this measure is worthy of great attention also from the point of view that the intelligentsia, the persons with intellectual knowledge, in addition to their intellectual activity have professional skills which are necessary to physical work, and become skilled workers in industry or in agriculture. Thus in addition to intellectual activity they master industrial or rural professional skills.

Fourthly, taking the intelligentsia into the plants and rural areas also produces considerable results from the point of view that the intelligentsia performing physical work extend considerable assistance in the matter of expansion and development of the knowledge of the laborers and peasants of industrial plants and rural areas. The assistance of agricultural specialists working in the people's communes in rural areas, in the struggle for increasing crop yield, for example, is of inestimable significance. The aid provided by researchers of the Philosophical Institute, for example, working in rural areas, people's communes and plants, in the matter of the development of the attitudes, and philosophical training of laborers and peasants, also is of inestimable value.

Fifthly, bringing the intelligentsia to physical work also is of great importance from the point of view that this results in the opposition and difference between intellectual and physical work; not only does the physical laborer gain knowledge and become elevated to the level of intellectual work in his skills, but at the same time the intellectual worker also becomes elevated to the class viewpoint and level of the labor class in a newly acquired viewpoint and relationship to production. In addition to his intellectual activity the intelligentsia masters the physical work which constantly is rising to a higher level and toward the level of intellectual work.

The simultaneous application of both tendencies is particularly demanded by the peculiarities of the situation in China. Of primary importance among these peculiarities is the fact that the Chinese intelligentsia, including also the new intelligentsia, has very poor composition: the proportion of intelligentsia of labor and peasant extraction is insignificantly small. This is connected with illiteracy, and with the complexity of the Chinese orthography. It is worthy of note, also, that the intelligentsia to a considerable degree is separated from the life of the villages and factories, and thus there is great need for the above mentioned measures.

The combined application of the two tendencies described above opened new possibilities in the field of elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work, it may facilitate the path which leads to termination of the contradiction and difference between intellectual and physical work. The Chinese party attributes great importance to the simultaneous application of the two ways, the two tendencies, and has called attention to the fact that if only one or the other were applied this would result in only a partial solution. Although elevation of the laborers and peasants to the level of intellectual work is a significant matter, regardless of the results which it may produce it is nevertheless unilateral, because it does not terminate occasional recurrence of disrespect toward physical work in intelligentsia circles. The intelligentsia also have considerable participation in physical work, including that mentioned in the respects described above. This tendency in itself, however, would be inadequate if it were not connected with the tendency of elevation of physical work to the level of intellectual work, in itself would be unilateral and would result in distorted development, and in the end result would lead to lowering of intellectual work, and of the intelligentsia, to the level of the physical laborers. The accelerated way to elimination of the contradiction and difference between intellectual and physical work is made possible only by combined application of the two tendencies; formation of the unity of intellectual and physical work must be approached from two sides. Thus the Chinese people are approaching the elimination of the difference between intellectual and physical work simultaneously from two sides. This double tendency eases the road to elimination of contradiction.

The experiences of simultaneous application of these two tendencies to the present are very favorable. As a result of these measures the sum total of the intelligentsia is participating enthusiastically in physical work, many of the intelligentsia went into rural areas and into the plants to work in the wake of the initiatives of work-method-improvement movement.

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The paths and possibilities of elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work also are opened by the measures which further the connections between intellectual and physical work in the educational system, especially in the higher education system. In the spirit of Lenin they are striving for interconnection of education-training work with production.

The separation of theory from practice appeared as a burning problem in the Chinese universities and colleges, also. Problems arose in practice and in life which proved to be insoluble as long as this separation existed. Theoretical activity, intellectual work and education occasionally became dogmatic and too literal, and did not provide suitable armament for the understanding of practice, much less for its transformation. The separation of theory and practice resulted in a contradiction, the resolution of which first of all required elimination of the separation between theory and practice. Separated from practice, the intellectual workers at times viewed the importance of practice less and less from the point of view of their intellectual work, and this situation led directly to disrespect for practice, physical work and the work of production, and to belittling and disregard of the problems of life and of practice.

The separation of theory from practice and the abstract, speculative theorization finally signified disrespect for physical work. The disdain of physical work, however, appears not as a purely abstract theoretical problem: the class content of this problem also must be exposed. The disrespect for physical work in the end result means disrespect and disdain of the working class, denial and doubt of the leading role of the working class at the level of theoretical work and intellectual activity. Defeat of the contradictions and differences between intellectual and physical work, however, may be achieved only in the spirit of the leadership of the party and application of the creative Marxist-Leninist spirit. The leading role of the party also is the requisite for the development of intellectual work, the sciences, the arts, etc. The separation and contradiction between theory and practice also endangered the development of intellectual work. Under these circumstances the Chinese party brought forth the interconnection between education-training and production, and the inclusion of production and physical work in the educational system, taking into account the experiences and recommendations of the work-method-improvement movement.

The universities are confronted with very great tasks: they must resolve scientific research tasks which will accelerate the development of the working class, will accelerate China's progress toward the building of socialism and toward the beginning of the transition into communism. All this must be accomplished amidst conditions which, as is well known, start China far back on this road, and a lag of many centuries must be made up by the Chinese people within a very short time. Because of this reorganization of the higher education and education systems was a matter of life or death,

the demand that theoretical work be brought closer to practical activity, the separation between intellectual and physical work be eliminated, and disrespect for physical work be terminated. In connection with the reorganization of the educational system the Chinese party exposed the goal of education-training work very sharply, opposing those concepts which consider education-training work to be a goal in itself, and unequivocally and definitely established that training must serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. "According to the training-work directive of the party the essence of training is the service of the proletariat policy and unification of education and training work." (A Kinai Kommunista Part Kozponti Vezetosegenek es Allamtanacsanak az oktatasi munkara vonatkozo direktivaja /Directive of the Chinese Communist Party Central Leadership and State Council Pertaining to Education Work/, 19 September 1958.) In its training directives the party unequivocally indicated those requisites, and demands along which education-training work must be developed further. "In all schools the organization of Marxist-Leninist theoretical-political training is indispensable, the class attitude of the working class must be instilled in the instructors and pupils (a struggle must be conducted against the bourgeois attitude), they must be imbued with the attitude of the masses, the attitude of communality (the individualist attitude must be struggled against), the work attitude, or the attitude of the synthesis of intellectual and physical work (a struggle must be conducted against disrespect for the physical workers and against the viewpoint of the separation of intellectual work from physical work), and with the dialectical materialistic attitude (a struggle must be conducted against the idealist and metaphysical attitudes), and the separation from the reality of our homeland's socialist revolution and building of socialism, in political training, and dogmatic educational methods isolated from the concrete fact of training must be eliminated." (Ibid.)

One of the major new trends in the transformation of the educational and higher educational system is the fact that physical work has become a required part of university instruction. "Production work must be introduced as a regular academic subject in all the schools. Every student must participate in this work regularly and for a definite period of time," prescribes the directive of the party and the state council relating to education work. During the academic year of 1958-1959 the "system of physical work along with study" was expanded greatly, and is applied in various forms and with various methods. For one part, plants are being built at the universities, where university students and instructors perform physical work, and on the other part they go to factories, plants, villages and people's communes to work for extended periods of time. There is no standard regulation of physical work, and the individual universities establish the conditions and circumstances of participation in physical work within their own sphere of authority. It is generally and mutually accepted, however, that physical work should equal a definite fraction of education work. In some universities the students study for eight

months, work for three months, and have one month vacation. In other universities the study for seven months, work for four months and have one month vacation. In some universities the students study for half of the day and work half of the day, and at some universities the youths work on certain days of the week and conduct studies with the students on the remaining days of the week. The inclusion of university students and instructors in physical work (with the exception of the aged and ailing, the instructors also participate in physical work) requires extremely varied means and forms. With respect to these forms of work the universities were allowed a free hand on the basis of the principle that "unity must be connected with diversity." Along with keeping unity in mind "the forms of study must be organized diversely." The universities have availed themselves of this possibility, and a varied scale of the connection between education and production work has been formed at the various universities. The creation of plants and factories is of very great importance, and most of them, mainly in the natural science departments, at technical universities and medical schools, conform to the profile of the university, arming the university students with technical knowledge which they can relate to the theoretical material studied. The work which is done in these plants make the understanding of the theoretical material by the students easier because they see the problems which arise in practice, and with which they also must deal on a theoretical level. It is not by accident that many significant discoveries have been worked out at the plants organized at the universities, and these discoveries were exhibited at the exhibition held in the spring of 1958 at Peiping. The humanities faculties built plants concerned with production processes of a general type. The party's directive to the effect that the schools should create plants and the plants should create schools, is being realized. "In the immediate future plants and farms must be organized by the schools, and schools must be organized at the plants and in agricultural cooperatives." The universities and schools are organizing plants and farms with the assistance of the factories, villages and cooperative communes. The universities return this aid through providing the "red and professional" universities organized in the plants and people's communes with instructors and with the necessary requisites to enable the plant personnel and people's commune members to master the necessary professional knowledge at these universities.

Physical work, as an organic part of the university academic schedule, is not to be performed exclusively within the plants created among the tasks of the universities, and university and college students also perform regular work at villages, peoples communes and plants outside the universities. This work, if not exaggerated, is equal in significance to the work performed in the plants of the universities, not only because mastery of professional skills is conceivable outside the tasks of the universities, but also because the university students break away from their accustomed intellectual surroundings and live

and work in the villages among the peasants, or in the factories and plants among the laborers. Physical work performed outside the universities plays a much greater role in the transformation of the attitudes of the students in this respect, than does physical work performed in plants organized within the walls of the universities. In the case of physical work performed within the universities the students do not break away from their old surroundings and, living and working among themselves, they cannot become acquainted with the life of the laborers and peasants on the basis of direct experience. From this point of view production work performed in the villages and plants is much more significant, and thoroughly furthers the training of the students in the laborer's attitude. They live, dwell, work, and eat together with the laborers and peasants, and become acquainted with the life, problems, way of thought and customs of the simple people on the basis of direct experiences. In addition, the university students not only learn a given field of work, whether it be specialized work in the plant or work performed in the people's communes, but they also may perform significant work in the interest of their professional development. History students, who are working in the people's communes or participate in the production work of plants, frequently conduct historical research work along with their physical work. Many studies already have been born from these experience-gathering sojourns in rural areas or plants. These studies are based on the history of individual communes or plants. Several works have been produced by the pens of economics students sent to plants to perform physical work. These studies are concerned with plant efficiency computations. Philosophy instructors and students have arranged for the study of philosophy by laborers in many villages and plants, and have written textbooks and study work-books in a popular style, which further the acquaintance by the laborers and peasants of the underlying problems of the Marxist philosophy. Thus physical work outside the university walls lead to very significant results, not only in the direct performance and mastery of physical work, but also from the point of view of their professional development. The significance of this work must be viewed primarily as the fact that the persons preparing for the performance of intellectual work, the intelligentsia, shall become directly acquainted with physical work and with the labor and peasant masses who perform physical work. This process creates the possibility that the present and future intelligentsia shall not break away from the masses of laborers and peasants, from life. Here in Hungary a great deal of concern also is occasioned by the problem that part of the labor and peasant students who succeed in enrolling in the universities lose their class outlook, and as a result of bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences are assimilated into the bourgeois and petty bourgeois outlook. Analyzing the causes of the situation we find that to no small degree one of the causes is the breaking away from physical work and the disrespect for physical work and that which is connected with

this, disdain of the masses performing physical work: the labor class and the peasantry. The struggle against the bourgeois tendencies of laborer and peasant students, and the training of the students, especially those of bourgeois intelligentsia descent, in the laborer outlook has led to successful and significant results in the Chinese Peoples Republic to date. The students of the University of Wuhan noted that Comrade Mao Tse-tung observed the work of the students working at the plants established at the university and, praising them, told these students that they already are exactly as though they were laborers. In the eyes of the students of Wuhan this was the greatest praise which they could have received. This shows that the training in the laborer outlook and the struggle against the disdain of physical labor already have produced definite results.

The reorganization of university work and the reorganization of the educational system are significant measures taken in the interest of improvement of the relationship of the intelligentsia to the proletariats. One of the most important problems of the creation of the new intelligentsia and of the formation of the labor and peasant intelligentsia is that the new, formative intelligentsia should be of labor and peasant character not only in social extraction and class composition, but an effort must be made to ensure that the new intelligentsia, the intelligentsia of the proletariat, should develop and should work on the basis of the laborer outlook. In connection with the training of the labor and peasant intelligentsia it is not sufficient to stife to ensure that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall provide for the university education primarily of children of the labor and peasant classes. Although this is a very important and prime task, in addition to this an attempt must be made to ensure that the labor and peasant students who have entered the universities shall remain within the framework of the labor class on the basis of laborer-outlook, shall not break away from their class, and that they shall remain one with the labor class, the working class, not only in theory but also in sentiment. In this respect also, the measures taken for interconnection of intellectual and physical work are of very great importance: the double task, the development of the double tendency in the field of the elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work. In this relationship the goal set by Mao Tse-tung is understandable, consisting of supplementation of the elevation of the laborers and peasants to the level of the intelligentsia and to the level of intellectual work, by the process of the transformation of the intelligentsia into a working intelligentsia. This is the way of the elimination of the separation between theory and practice and of disdain for physical work, and this double tendency leads to the formation of close unity between theory and practice on the part of the people who perform intellectual work. This double tendency, and its logical application, creates the conditions enabling logical realization of the communist party in the field of intellectual

work, in the sciences, the arts, in education, and in the work of the universities and colleges.

The time which has lapsed since the measures were taken for interconnection of education and production, and does not permit thorough analysis of their results and shortcomings. Undoubtedly this is our important task; we must expose the contradictions, and problems which arise, and we must resolve the problems which will of necessity arise. (Introduction of production as a part of the academic schedule presents a problem with respect to the distribution of the original academic material, increases the load on the students, and increases the crowding of the subject matter of instruction. The time allowed for processing the subject matter must be increased, or the subject matter must be reduced in the interest of resolution of the contradiction which has arisen.) The task must be resolved in a manner which in no way will lead to lowering the level of instruction. The results to date are very reassuring. The measures pertaining to reorganization of instruction, and the measures aimed at raising physical work to the level of intellectual work, as well as the elimination of illiteracy, mechanization, the technical revolution, etc., have brought a significant step in the development of the communist knowledge and communist morality of peoples.

The elevation of the people to the level of intellectual work on the theoretical basis of communist consciousness takes place in the spirit of dialectic materialism. The Chinese Communist Party attributes great importance to this consciousness. Because of this many measures were taken in the interest of the development of the consciousness of the working masses, and the party organizations developed extensive training and instruction work. An important branch of this work is the participation of the laborers and peasants in the study of philosophy. In the Chinese Peoples Republic great masses are studying the basic questions of Marxist philosophy in the factories, plants and villages. It is not a rare occurrence that one-fourth or one-third of the laborers of various plants participate in the study of philosophy. The study of Marxist philosophy is not concerned primarily with the abstract categories of philosophy, but takes up concrete problems of practical life and through their analysis the students become acquainted with the basic problems of Marxist philosophy. Thus, for example, the students do not deal with the contradiction primarily as a category but study the contradictions which arise in practical life in order to understand and expose the nature of the contradictions and so that they may become acquainted with the means and methods for resolution of the contradictions. Thus the students become acquainted with the dialectic law, the nature, content and peculiarities of the contradiction, and they learn the significance of the law of dialectic in the practical activity of man and in the formation of society. Under these circumstances the study of Marxist philosophy does not mean the scientific processing and further development of the Marxist philosophy, although in many

questions the philosophic education-training work among the laborers and peasants involves abundant factual material, experimental material and new problems. The study of Marxist philosophy primarily serves the goal of transforming the thinking of people and of the development of consciousness. The goal of this work is to train people in dialectic thinking and in the materialist world outlook. This work already has produced very significant results in this field.

The development of the conscious activity of the people is an important basic factor in making intellectual work universal, and in the elevation of physical work to the level of intellectual work. Millions of Chinese have begun to occupy themselves with philosophy. This is a significant station in the history of human thinking. In several cities, such as Tientsin, approximately 100,000 physical laborers are participating in the study of philosophy. This wide-scale study of philosophy is a very important trend of the cultural revolution, and leads to great results along the road to elimination of the contradiction between intellectual and physical work.

The tendency of the elimination of the contradiction between city and village, and between intellectual and physical work represents the acceleration of the building of socialism, and starts the preparation of the conditions for the transition to communism. These problems are debated during the Marxism-Leninism instruction organized at the universities, and these problems are discussed within the framework of the philosophic instruction organized at the factories and in the peoples communes. Consciousness has a gigantic role in the development of the foresight of the people.

In China it may be heard frequently that the problems of communism must be taken into consideration at the present, the rich experience in this field which has been evolved in the Soviet Union must be processed, the knowledge of communism must be mastered, and the problems which will be brought up by the building of communism in the not-too-distant future must be taken into consideration at the present. Just as the Chinese as early as 1949 were concerned with, and were discussing the problems of socialism, the party was clarifying the theoretical problems of the building of socialism to the masses so that the masses would not be taken unawares by the process of the building of socialism and so that broad circles of the people could make theoretical preparations for this task to ensure mature conditions for the entrance upon the building of socialism, at present they already are concerned with the theoretical problems of communism, so that mature conditions will be awaiting the practical task of the building of communism in the not-too-distant future. Great importance is attributed to clarification of the conditions for the transition to communism, the conditions of the transition are being studied on a mass scale, and theoretical and practical work is being done on the creation of these conditions. Elimination of social contradictions, and of the contradiction and difference between city and village and

between intellectual and physical work occupy an important place among these conditions.

The latest measures taken by China in the field of elimination of contradictions, and the new ways of resolving the contradictions accelerate the building of socialism, open up great new possibilities before the development of the Chinese society, and at the same time create very important new problems in the development of Marxism, which must be studied.

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